137 are not burned down so regularly, and Urundi is not as completely treeless as Ruanda because next to each kraal a few fig trees are maintained for the use of their bark. Also, [5] the larger rivers, such as the Ruvuvu or the Malagarasi, are bordered for some stretches with a rather dense forest on the banks (Plate 5). The great majority of the valleys, however, is swampy and filled with dense papyrus thickets which can be penetrated only in a few places (Plate 2a). While in our part of the world valleys are the natural arteries of traffic and the most suitable places for settlement, they can never serve this purpose in most of Urundi. The swamp covered valleys and [361] their often very steep slopes force the population and their roads and settlements to the upland plateaus and upper slopes. For this reason all farmsteads are on mountain ridges and the higher slopes of the valleys. In the valleys the only fields are of crops [241] that, like sweet potatoes, need considerable moisture. This character of the valleys will make it extremely difficult to open up the country by means of roads or even railroads. The papyrus swamps are, next to the grassy hills across which one can see for miles, the most characteristic feature in the landscape of Urundi, as well as of Uha and Ruanda, that is, of most of the interlacustrine region.

Richard Kandt, the poet among the travelers to East Africa, devotes the following impressionistic description to them.

"From the time we entered the region of Urundi and also during the last days in Uha, papyrus swamps formed the characteristic feature of the landscape. Often streams hardly more than two meters wide lie in a valley of papyrus several hundred meters wide. It fills not only the main valleys but extends also into all tributary valleys and even climbs up the ravines and gorges so that, seen from a height, the country looks like a gigantic network of green ribbons in whose meshes the mountains lie like islands. I have seen many a strange and beautiful landscape in Africa. I have experienced the indescribable melancholy hovering over burned, trembling-hot steppes when the rays of the sinking sun, in a bloody red, break through the glittering haze. In the territory of the Congo State I have tasted

231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

241 In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and [462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

4/2 241 The ogly agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka, igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine [434] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and [439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

4/12 acute angle joins it to a wooden handle whose club-shaped end
241 has a hole for this purpose, made with red-hot iron. In most cases the handle is so short (about three quarters of a meter) that the person using it in the fields always has to stoop quite low. Usually only the right hand is used for gripping the hoe while loosened stones, weeds, and the produce of the field are collected with the left hand. Hoes with handles as long as one and a quarter meter are also used, however. In northern Ruanda and on Lake Kivu such long-handled hoes predominate. Both hands are used to grip them, and they do not require one to work in such a stooped position as do those with shorter handles.

For digging holes to sow beans, peas, corn, and other produce, a piece of broken-off reed or wood is used at times. This piece, however, does not thereby become a permanent implement, that is, a "digging stick"; holes in the soft soil are mostly dug with the fingers. On the other hand, the short hatchet (ischenjo), shaped like a segment of a circle, is a permanent piece of equipment used for clearing the ground of underbrush. The same is true of the bent hewing knife (umuhoro; [171] see Plate 46), characteristic of the interlacustrine region, which appears in the hand of the old Egyptian harvest god. It is also used here as a harvest knife, besides having many other uses.

241 Thus, the farming techniques of the Barundi are merely hoe-culture, and the produce of their fields only hoe-products [as contrasted to plow-culture and its products]. Bananas and beans are the main agricultural produce. Bananas thrive everywhere, but they grow well only up to an altitude of approximately 2,000 meters. Beans grow in somewhat higher altitudes. Finally, peas are entirely absent in the lowland, but they are quite frequent in the higher regions of central Urundi. They are the sole agricultural product found in the areas of greatest elevation. Corn is widely grown in the Tanganyika region and in the valley of the Ruzizi, but it is found in the interior areas to a much smaller extent than is generally assumed. In the dry eastern part of Urundi where bananas become scarce, corn, interspersed with beans, is often cultivated on artifically irrigated valley floors. Peanuts are also abundant in the Ruzizi and Tanganyika areas, but in the highlands of the interior they are only sparsely

241 distributed. Wherever water is plentiful, one will find sweet potatoes; therefore there are few in the highland of the interior and only in the valley bottoms. Yams are grown very rarely. Manioc, however, which requires a certain amount of dryness and warmth is widely distributed in the lowlands and in the dry quartzite areas of the east. In the mountains of the west it is found only in the lower, warmer regions. Sorghum is found all over Urundi, although nowhere in large amounts; its main growing areas are the drier quartzite regions of eastern Urundi. Eleusine [a kind of millet] is found only in small quantities, and mostly at high altitudes. A little rice is grown [50] but only on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. It is cultivated by non-Barundi who imported it from the east; the Barundi themselves are not familiar with the cultivation of rice. Tobacco is cultivated everywhere in Urundi but merely as a form of primitive horticulture near the huts. The same is true for the castor-oil plant. Finally, the oil palm grows only on the shores of Lake Tanganyika and on the slopes of the peripheral mountains on the western side toward the lake.

Let us now take a closer look at the most important cultivated plants and at the methods of growing them.

245 Several varieties of banana (ikitoke) are cultivated both in Urundi and in Ruanda. Fifteen types can be distinguished in Urundi. Their flavor and the uses to which they are put differ widely. It is an open question whether there are wild varieties (musa ensete) in the mountains. In any case, out in the wild bush country I have often seen bananas which may have reverted to the wild state. According to the Barundi, their fruit is unpalatable, and they are called ikiribu. Van der Burgt has found them in northern Urundi near the mission at Mariensee. Wherever in East Africa bananas are cultivated as the main means of subsistence, a characteristic fact about their cultivation makes those tribes who plant them unusually sedentary. This fact is that the banana plant reproduces by means of runners or multiplies from shoots which cannot be taken far away, and once a banana grove has been planted around a farmstead it survives a long time. On the other hand, the fact that banana

388 177 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil for making soap; [54] only the people of the Tanganyika area have learned from the Arabs and Wasuaheli how to mix oil with potash to make soap (kifefe) which is traded in fist-sized balls.

222 262 Apart from the cultivated plants mentioned above, the Barundi and their women and children collect a number of wild plants or parts of these plants to be used as food or condiments. There are, for instance, the stinging nettle, whose leaves are boiled as "spinach," and sorrel, also cooked as a vegetable. The fruit of the eggplant (Solanum esculentum) -- reverted to the wild state? -- is eaten raw or roasted. They also collect edible mushrooms which are eaten either raw or cooked, red pepper [263] (intore) whose pods are used for seasoning, and various berries eaten as delicacies by women and children, especially blackberries which are abundant everywhere.

241 The location and arrangement of the fields (umurima) in Urundi does not differ much from Ruanda. One thing that soon strikes the observer is that in Urundi, with the exception of the western mountain areas, terraced fields are much more rare than in Ruanda where they cover entire mountain slopes and constitute the characteristics appearance of the cultivated areas. In Urundi the fields extend predominantly over level ground, either on the broad ridges and plateaus or at the bottom of the valleys. They are always close to the huts and, of course, to water. No furrows are drawn on most fields; their surface is merely loosened with a hoe. In the case of freshly cleared land, the pulled grass and shrubs are piled up in the field, left to dry, and burned. Then the ashes, as fertilizer, are worked into the ground with the hose. A similar method is used at the edge of papyrus swamps. After the water level has receded, the papyrus thicket is cut down over the whole extent of the extremely fertile alluvial land whose surface has dried. The hacked-off papyrus fronds are burned as soon as they have dried out (Plate 22a). Then the roots are dug up, narrow drainage ditches are dug, and the plant ash is spread over the field as fertilizer. Finally sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and beans are planted in the little holes which have been dug. They come up quickly. If land is cleared on a hill slope, the fields are laid out in long narrow strips which follow the contour horizontally. These are made as level as

241 possible by removing soil from farther up the hill and heaping it farther down. Thus, if there are several strips of land situated one above the other on a hillside, they are arranged in terraces. Each field is separated from the one below by a narrow grass-covered ridge in the same manner as in Ruanda. Stones piled up to form such a ridge are seen only rarely. A few broad furrows are drawn through these terrace fields so as to prevent the soil from being washed away by heavy rains. However, on the valley floors and on the artificially irrigated plains the fields are arranged in the form of elevated plots between which water may flow freely.

Since the hoes used in the fields do not penetrate very far into the soil, the clearing of the land, sowing, and planting do not extend very far below the surface. Hence, the uppermost topsoil is continuously used and is soon exhausted and "impoverished." In order to retard this process or to prevent it entirely, the Barundi use fertilizer, as has already been mentioned. This is not found very frequently in East African agriculture. As fertilizer, they use either animal manure (ikiragiriro) from cattle, goats, sheep, and chickens, or the ashes of burnt plants (amase) from the hearth and from the roots of grass or papyrus which they have dug up, or green fertilizer (chopped pieces of the banana trunk, sorghum stalks), or kitchen refuse, sweepings, etc. [55] These fertilizers are distributed evenly over the fields and sometimes raked into the soil somewhat, usually shortly before the rainy season.

As soon as the first rains come, men, women, and children begin to cultivate the fields. The various plants are sown throughout the rainy season, that is, from September or October until March or April: first, beans, peas, and corn; sorghum and eleusine next; then the tuberous plants. Fresh beans and young corn are available in November, but the main harvest (bananas, sorghum, eleusine) takes place in June. The dry period extends from June until September or October. It is a period of rest for most fields. However, in river and stream valleys, in the lowlands where water is available, and even on many hill slopes, the fields are tilled and planted and crops are harvested during the

●241 entire year. Even during the driest months bananas, beans, corn, sweet potatoes, and pumpkins grow there.

241 312 This is made possible only by artificial irrigation (uwutotsi) which the Barundi have brought to a stage of development and apply in a manner similar to the Banjaruanda. In the valley plains and on the river bottoms, water is channeled from the main stream through a whole network of larger and smaller canals and ditches and distributed over the area. Here the innumerable plots of arable ground rise above the ditches like high beds (Plate 22b). In order to irrigate the fields on the hillsides as well, the upper course of the stream is dammed up with earth and latticework so as to form a pool. From there the water is led along the mountain slopes through a ditch, which is often several kilometers long, until the desired destination is reached. Small channels lead off from this main artery at various intervals and irrigate numerous fields on the hillsides. Once a field has received enough water, the ditch leading to it is dammed up. The last fields receive only a little water because the supply has been exhausted along the route. It is amazing with what understanding of the velocity and pressure of the water the ditches have been leveled, dammed up, and conducted along the valley slopes with all their indentations and salients. If the slope is interrupted by a gully that also interrupts the course of the irrigation ditch, a long tree trunk, often brought from a long distance, is placed horizontally across the gully. Its upper side is hollowed out to form a groove through which the water may flow. There are tree viaducts of this type 30 to 40 meters long (No. 19, p. 50). The construction of such an irrigation network is the joint enterprise of the men. Each is entitled to his share of water. The equitable distribution of the water is regulated and supervised by the mutwale of the district.

I have seen a similar carefully and painstakingly constructed irrigation network -- which would do credit to any European horticulturist -- only among the Wadschagga of Kilimanjaro. It must be said, however, that the artificial irrigation in some areas of Usambara, Uluguru, Ussagara, and several other mountain regions is not much inferior to that mentioned above.

241 In spite of all this, the Barundi do not grow more crops
433 than they need for their subsistence during the year. The soil
[134] is, for the most part, fertile red earth and, in the valley plains, dark gray alluvial soil or humus, except in the sterile and stony quartzite regions of the east. With or without artificial irrigation, this soil could produce much more if a larger area were cultivated. This is prevented mainly by the absence of trade. [56] Since there are neither markets nor organized trade in the large area of central Urundi -- only the Tanganyika region possesses both -- the Murundi could do nothing with what he produced beyond his own needs. Moreover, the Murundi does not anticipate bad harvests. Like nearly all Negroes, he never
731 worries about the future. Since not even the hardy manioc (which, even in the driest years when everything else withers, still furnishes a good yield) is grown in large quantities, extensive areas are plagued by famine in poor harvest years. This is especially true of the arid quartzite regions of eastern Urundi.
[197] Then the missionary stations (Mugera, Mujaga, and others) and the government try to help by importing grain (sorghum) from Uha and Usámbiro, but they still cannot prevent many people, particularly children, from starving to death.

Another important reason that prevents further expansion
241 of agriculture can be found in the way land is owned, in the
423 overruling power of the Batussi who claim, above all, grazing land for their herds of cattle. We shall discuss this problem later (p. 57).

Various efforts are made to protect the growing crops
241 against pests. Weeds are cleared away; caterpillars, beetles,
136 and snails are picked off; birds are frightened away by scarecrows which, for example, are made of gallows-shaped sorghum stalks tied one upon the other with dry, rattling fruit suspended from them. Large animals, however, like the wild boars and baboons in the mountains of western Urundi, are either kept out by fences or chased away by watchmen who walk around in the daytime and at night take up their positions in small huts perched on high posts. From there the guards from time to time set up a loud shouting or rattle with sticks. In the valleys of western

241 Urundi and Ruanda where water is abundant, crowned cranes,
136 spore geese, and Nile geese are the worst enemies of the crops since they eat the young budding sprouts of beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, millet, etc. The Bahutu try to frighten them away by rattles and shouting. Ibises, herons, and golden plovers also abound in the swamp valleys, but they do not attack the green crops and prefer to fish for frogs, worms, and snails in the drainage ditches. In the dry quartzite regions of eastern Urundi there are only a few such swamp valleys, and consequently there are only a few of the noxious birds mentioned above.

251 Harvested produce is partly kept in baskets and sacks in the huts, but most of it is put in the basket-shaped storage huts mentioned above (p. 22) which are located near the living huts. Particularly beans, sorghum, and corn are stored in these basket-like huts. However, during the dry period ears of corn are suspended in large bundles from the fig trees surrounding the homestead. The tuberous fruit, namely, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and arrowroot, are usually not piled up but are left in the ground until they are needed. This is another reason why the quantity grown is never large, since it would spoil otherwise.

423 I mentioned before that further expansion of agriculture in Urundi is blocked by the peculiar conditions of ownership. The situation here is quite similar to that in Ruanda. None of the agricultural Bahutu owns the land that he cultivates. All the land is the property of the king who vests his high batwale with it, who in turn vest the lower Batussi batwale (see p. 134). The mutwale distributes the individual lots of land to the Bahutu he rules, who hold it in fee. [57] The Bahutu must ask his per-
423 mission whenever they intend to work a plot of land, build a hut,
65/ or clear new ground for fields. They pay him a tribute of natural products which is done only once. In addition, they pay him an
[427] annual "tithe" as a ground rent. If the annual rent is not paid at harvest time, the mutwale may punish this tardiness by evicting the person from the land. The mutwale may also demand extraordinary tributes from the Bahutu without compensating them, for example, presents for the head chief, provisions for the caravan of a European passing through, etc. The gifts or payments made

423 651 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale: Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the people?]!

311 518 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and against agriculture, will continue even when this big country is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of 000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at present, since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agricultural production and to sell more. These difficulties will only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions relating to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concentrated fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily upon these areas and retarding their development: the rule of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is necessary than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 782 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it (No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

241 beginning of the cultivation of the fields as soon as the rainy
782 season has started. This is done after he and his sorcerers (abafumu) have practiced a number of ceremonies and have
[776] offered sacrifices to the principal god, Imana, the fertility god. The order of the head chief is passed on by the subchief to the lower batwale who again pass it on to the Bahutu. The Bahutu also offer small gifts to the god. When they begin to till the field, a sorcerer (umufumu) dances in front of them on the first day, shouting and gesticulating, to banish the evil spirits and to bless the seed.

241 According to Father Gassldinger the consecration of the
782 fields takes a somewhat different form in central Urundi
796 (Mujaga). At the beginning of the rainy season, after the high grass has been cut down and dug into the topsoil with hoes, work is started with a ceremony that is supposed to bring the blessing of Kiranga. [58] The men, painted yellow and red, line up with their hoes on the field which is to be tilled. Kiranga with two escorts (ivisjego) sits on the side of the field. A girl who is painted and richly adorned stands in front of the men in the center of the field. She now begins to jump, dance, and sing while cutting the high grass with her sickle. Still singing, she asks Kiranga for a successful sowing and curses the sorcerers and witches who might want to harm the field. The men promise her ample gifts of beer for the summer. The men walk slowly behind her turning the soil over with their hoes which they strike rhythmically into the ground. Depending on the type of seed, Kiranga is invoked by a particular name: Njamurimi when sorghum is sown, Njabaschi for peanuts, Rumambo for corn, etc. (No. 45, p. 316).

782 The heir presumptive to the throne of the king is believed
241 to hold in his clenched fist at birth a grain of seed of each of the
[649] crops of Urundi. If the corn or sorghum in a field has been dashed to the ground by hail or a cloudburst, the Muhutu who cultivated the plot runs around the field with a cattle bell, and by its noisy clanging he reminds the god to whom he has made sacrifices of his duty to protect the field from evil spirits. If this clanging of the bell is done properly, the crops lying on the ground will raise themselves to an upright position.

2: Meyer--256 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate 22

Laying out a Field after Burning Papyrus, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

133
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Sweet Potatoe Fields in a Swamp Valley, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful
[462] services of the males. It is worth remarking that the cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[467] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[178] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

178 changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground.
177 Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which
grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of
[541] famine ; coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps
to pay the tax-collector).

178 Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type,
177 closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neigh-
361 bourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres)
563 or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly
foreigners : Belgian officials, European traders
(Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *banyahili* (Islamized
negroes). It remains however that they are an en-
tirely new feature in a country with such a widely
dispersed population.

Conclusions

361 I thought I could draw your attention to some
571 details of the curious Urundi organization : a dense
population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and
habitable land according to the geographic possi-
bilities, without any orientation centres (the few
habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce
anything like demographic concentration) ; the
small part played by neighbourhood relations, the
predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating
man-to-man dependance, or in other words the
primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relation-
ships.

Such an organization was possible in a country
almost completely closed to foreign influence, without
either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure
and must be related to conditions both ethno-
graphical and geographical. This organization is
[177 giving way under the influence of European ad-
178] ministration, of the development of trade, and of a
new economy based more and more upon monetary
transactions.

[p. 16 (B)]

133 a chimney opening at the bottom (1), has a diameter of about 400 meters.

1. In 1912 there were two juxtaposed chimneys. The wall that divided them disappeared in 1915.

The column of smoke, which was rather light between the years 1908 and 1926, thickened in January, 1927 and may be seen from afar.

Its neighbor to the right, the Nyamlagira (3, 056 meters), is more active. The mouth of the volcano is nearly 2, 000 meters in diameter.

Lava in fusion is constantly boiling in four or five small chimneys scattered along part of the old crater. It exudes fumaroles /sic/ and sulphurous vapors. The volcano called Muguruga or Ntsuro, not far from Lake Kivu, still emits some occasional vapors. Its eruption is of recent date, since it revived at the end of December, 1912.

Let us still mention the Bwana-Mahalage, which is nearly lost among blocks of lava. It erupted twice between 1903 and 1905, and since then has given no signs of life.

Its crater is now almost completely obstructed, and its diameter is insignificant.

In places where lava has begun to desintegrate, as happened [134] in the Bugoyi plain, which extends northeast of Lake Kivu, the soil is quite fertile.

The aspect of the land is imposing and pleasant to gaze at. The lake with its islands, the high peaks that block the horizon to the north, the plain strewn with craters, and the active volcanoes [132] make it an area unsurpassed in scenic value. The climate is temperate and the soil rich. It is volcanic soil that keeps disintegrating without ever being exhausted. One finds in the fields sorghum, peas, beans, sweet-potatoes, and eleusine. Edible arum is rare and so is manioc, but potatoes and wheat are becoming increasingly widespread. The soils of Byahi and Riverere are most propitious to the

134
241

134 cultivation of the famous plante médicée /Tr.: "Medici plant"/
24/ (tobacco), the sale of which provides a living for a number of families. /26/

The vast Rwrere plain covers nearly half of the Bugoyi province.
133 Not a spring or brook is to be found there. The rain water immediately
312 drains beneath the lava, which is covered by a mere 50 or 60 centimeters of arable soil. The inhabitants are compelled to cover distances varying between 10 and 20 kilometers, round trip to draw water from the brooks of the Sebeya or the Mutura. During the rainy season, they carefully save the water that collects in the crags of rocks or in small moats dug by each person around his dwelling. The owners of banana groves use the water held by the thicker husks of the banana trees. These are split lengthwise with a knife, and produce water lightly mixed with potash. The natives get used to drinking this liquid without any repugnance.

The Bagoyi who live in the mountainous area are better off than the plains people as far as water is concerned.

The northern area, called Bigogo, consists entirely of pastures.
133 It is inhabited by the herding Batutsi, who own numerous herds of cattle, the wealth of the country.

These same lands of volcanic origin, gave birth to a beautiful
[37] forest where bamboo grows along with some rare species of trees. It spreads east of Kivu in a north-south direction.

[31] The natives, ever in search of fertile fields and charcoal, have made terrible inroads into it. This is why large gaps are to be found in it.

The central and eastern provinces, the Nduga, Bwana-Mkali, Gissaka, Buganza, etc., are made up of long rolling hills, nearly always separated by small valleys which are often transformed into
[31] marshes and which are very useful for summer planting.

The Buliza, Bussigi, and Luhanga are long plateaus where numerous herds of goats, sheep, and cows graze. These areas lie at an altitude of about 2,200 meters. /27/

Ruanda also has lakes, the most important of which is Kivu, which is 120 kilometers long and from 40 to 50 kilometers wide.

233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [356] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

241 The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

Their Food is Varied

262 It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate
[241] a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ebikoro), squash and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain
[263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/,
[272] who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/
[273] frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

263 The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824]

1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place
258 of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from
263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824]

1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

258 water, which overflows into a jar, carrying with it a few more or less
263 soluble particles of this sooty dust. The liquid is preserved. The cooks pour a little into the cooking pot at every meal. Some families subsist on this humble vocation and trade with water which is not salted but which has an ashy taste.

Salt was indeed rare before the arrival of the Europeans. The great Batutsi chiefs were about the only ones able to obtain it.

This salt, collected by the Blacks in the marshes of Lake Edward, contained an amount of earth and sand at least equal to half its volume. It sold nevertheless for a very high price at native markets.

The salt from the Gottorp plant (not far from Kigoma) is now used by all social strata. It is highly valued by the Banyarwanda, who call it ulugera, a substantive derived from the verb kugera, which means "to penetrate," because, as they say, it goes all the way down to their stomachs thanks to its high quality and its tart and pungent flavor. One understands why formerly the Blacks, when deprived of salt, would seek out bitter herbs and sour fruits. Red pepper and
[241] chives, which were imported fairly recently, have for this reason been a great success among the Blacks, who cultivate them in small plots near their huts. It is probably for the same reason that children show almost as much fondness for lemons as for oranges. /34/ A few years after the eruption referred to as that of the Ntsuro (December, 1911 and January, 1912), when the natives were able to approach the volcano safely, they began collecting salt mixed with large quantities of earth. The inhabitants of nearby villages spend most of their time collecting the indispensable substance. In order to rid the salt of its
[415] impurities, people melt it in large wooden troughs full of water, which are called imivule or imizinga. The liquid is then removed to other troughs where it is exposed to the sun. The most skillful and enterprising workers allow the water to boil until it evaporates completely. The markets which are held north of Kivu are supplied with this salt, which sells as high as that of Gottorp in spite of its poor quality. It is less white, contains impurities, and always remains damp.

241 The Batwa, or Negrillos, do not farm much. They look down
461 on field work.
563

241 461 To them, this labor is almost taboo (1). They are divided in

1. Extensive fields of peas are to be seen among the Batwa of the Bugoyi, who live at the edge of the forest. Should one see this as a new state of affairs caused by the deep changes which have upset or transformed their former way of life?

It is certain that the hunting grounds of the Pygmies are not as extensive as they used to be. The forest dwindles imperceptibly but surely as the Bahutu, in search of new fields, gnaw at it incessantly with their axes. It must also be said that the Negrillos can no longer plunder and rob as they used to do. European penetration is largely responsible for stopping this source of income. In order to support themselves, the Batwa have begun to farm out of necessity, like the Bahutu.

323 two categories, the potters and the hunters. The former settle in Bahutu villages but live apart. They work with clay, a task which everyone else gladly leaves to them. They get foodstuffs in exchange for their vessels.

224 [195] The hunters prefer the solitude of the forest. They are the true children of the woods, and "milk" the forest in every way, as though it were their cow, to repeat a familiar expression /35/ of theirs. They live on the game they kill.

They are very fond of meat and tirelessly track elephants, buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, the large tailless, clawless rats called

789 241 Woe to those who plunder lands which have been thus bewitched! They are struck motionless on the spot and become completely paralyzed (baragangara) and incapable of any motion. The sorcerer alone can free them by uttering some cabalistic words. In order to safeguard his crops the owner of a field often uses the following method, which consists of laying down on the field which is to be protected the sharpening stone, a handful of ashes from the hearth, and strips of leather taken from an old drum. If a sorghum crop is involved, our man ties together four sorghum stems near the mystic assortment, as though to simulate a hut consecrated to the spirits. The trespasser who chances on the property will be immobilized, or he will catch an illness that will lead him to the grave (1).

1. We are talking as from the native's mouth, but we do not intend to confirm his claims in any way. Even when events justify those claims, this may undoubtedly be ascribed to emotion, autosuggestion, or sheer coincidence.

791 789 In the Bwana-Mkali province, operators of this kind bear the name of Abakagizi (from gukagira, "to hinder"), and their method is called urukago, "hindrance." Like their other colleagues, they bury amulets, plants with magic properties, an old household spatula, or even the small stone used to crush the grain at the entrance to the courtyard or behind the hut. The stone, called ingasire, is also called ikinane in sorcerers' terms, that is to say, "the obstacle," "the supreme preventitive." The use of a spatula which is worn or out of commission has a mystic sense and a magic virtue at the same time. The thief who should attempt to enter a dwelling protected in this fashion would find his efforts come to naught (2). Professional

2. This method is reminiscent of bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/.

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821

12. Imvura y' igisanura (2), "the rain that soaks (the parched lands), that is to say, the first showers of the rainy season.

2. Gusanura is a sort of auxiliary verb which is understood in a figurative sense and has many meanings, like the verb gukaza.

IV. Seasonal Rites

●241
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When the sorghum-sowing time (mu kubiba) comes by, the mistress of the household takes a handful of grain which she proceeds to grind. With the resulting small amount of flour, she fashions a roll into which she slips some fruit of the shrub called intobo. Then the roll is placed in a small basket (interero or chyibo) along with a household spatula (umwuko) /433/ Meanwhile, the children of the household wrap the embers from the hearth in a bunch of grass which should contain either bran or sorghum husks whenever possible. They bury this parcel in the field which is about to be sowed.

One must not forget to add to the contents of the basket a piece of iron dross. There remains only to place the whole thing in the storage granary (ikigega), which shall be filled to the brim at harvest time as a result of this symbolic and superstitious procedure.

The owners of the hut must see to it that none of their neighbors will come to get some fire (kulahura) and enter the hut until the day when the first sorghum shoots appear.

If one were to neglect this precaution, one would incur the risk of a bad harvest (ngo batabak' umugisha).

At the time when beans are cultivated, the owner of the field sticks his spear into the ground and places on the tip of the weapon a pod of unshelled beans which he drives in lightly. His children bring him a hollowed half gourd (uruho), which is used as a basin. He fills it with water.

On a grass pad he puts a rolling stone (ibuye ry' intosho). Then a handful of beans in the pod are placed on the pad for an instant and shelled.

241 788 The beans are poured onto the back of an overturned winnowing basket. Then the owner removes one of the long grass stalks covering the entrance to the hut, and he places this dried stem on the winnowing basket whose concave side is facing down. He takes the basket, lifts it, and shakes it strongly with both hands in order to get the beans into the other side of the grain-scouring implement.

This superstitious practice bears the name of bean "creation" or "multiplication." If a stranger /434/ happens by in the course of this ritual, he must not walk around the basket but pass to one side of it.

Then the beans are buried in the tilled ground in the hope of a rich harvest. This procedure is commonly used to insure good weather.

In their credulity and trust in superstitious practices, the Banyarwanda hope to exercise an influence over sunshine.

[273] At the time of the sorghum harvest, when the Banyarwanda are extremely eager to secure beer from this plant (amarwa) of which they have been deprived for so long, they expose the crushing stone (ingasire) to sunlight, believing that they are "retaining" the sun in this fashion. We may add that their knowledge of astronomy is nil. 821 They have only one generic term, inyenyeri, to designate the stars, and another, nyakotsi, for comets (1).

1. Nyakotsi means "the /female/ one with smoke," that is to say, with a tail.

The sun (izuba), the moon (ukwezi), and the planet Venus (nyamuhiribona) are the only heavenly bodies for which they have specific names.

131

on German East Africa, Mitteilunger aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 348.

In the northwestern part of the above-mentioned axis the Batutsi are less numerous. Only in Bwischascha and above all in the district of Lubengera do they appear in larger numbers. (3)

3. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin), p. 505.

The Batutsi of Bugoye settled there only a few generations ago. They came there from Mukinjaga. The few Batutsi in Mulera came there a short time ago from Nduga.

101 167 The Batutsi have also migrated to the west across the eastern edge of the graben [Rift Valley]. Dr. Kandt (4) says the fol-

4. Ibid., p. 456.

lowing about the Batutsi in Kishari:

"Here (Tshove, Kishari) many Watussi visited us, simple, friendly people but less handsome and aristocratic than those of Urundi and Ruanda; they have to work. Here they are not the rulers of the country, but cattle breeders living in villages isolated from the original inhabitants who are agriculturalists. (It is indeed strange how sharp a boundary the Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu form in this respect: to the east whole groups of Watussi live as kings and chiefs of subject peoples; to the west they appear sporadically or, as in Kishari, in larger numbers, but in neither case as rulers.)... Later I heard that Kishari is the refuge for all Watussi who for some reason have had to flee from their homeland." [124]

241 558 Despite the fact that conditions are very favorable for agriculture, the Batutsi have remained herdsmen, and only seldom have poverty-stricken Batutsi taken up agriculture. This happened to a family of Bagwabiro in Bugoye. Those Batutsi who till the

241 558 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribesmen, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 576 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She dominates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title, "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576. 554 Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

000 fellow-tribesmen.

162 I constantly inquired about the Batwa, and since I gained no further information, I think I can assume that I have herewith listed the most important groups. Accordingly, the number of Batwa in Ruanda does not exceed 3,000, although there are individuals scattered in many different places. There were two or three in Issawi and a rainmaker in Ruasa.

614 The Batwa belong to the same clans as the rest of the Banyaruanda. Thus, the Batwa of Kahima belong to the Mugessera clan, and Kahima seems to be their clan elder, a man of little authority. The Batwa of Kabgaye, as well as those of Muhawura, belonged to various clans and may perhaps be regarded as remnants of clan groups which have been broken up.

[135]

Chapter 7

Occupations

● 241 Agriculture. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the Bahutu. It is carried on quite intensively and with care, reaching its maximum in the vicinity of Lake Kivu. The chief products are: millet (masaka), sweet potatoes (bidjumba), peas (bishimbo), and bananas (bitoke). The following are also grown in large quantities: corn (kigori), peanuts (ichiema), eleusine [a kind of millet] (buro), gourds (mungu), tobacco (itabi), and a little manioc (mukembe).

In Mulera and Bugoye peas are the staple whereas in Kissaka, Nduga, in the northeast territory, and especially in Bgisha, millet is the principal food.

The following methods used in Ruanda agriculture bespeak its high level of development: the use of fertilizer, unknown in eastern Europe; artificial irrigation; and terraced fields on the steep mountainsides.

The care that goes into farming is shown primarily by the way the farmer covers the ground of the banana groves with leaves and rotting banana stalks, so that the moisture necessary to the

241 plants is conserved. Cow manure is reportedly used as fertilizer in the banana groves as well as in the fields, and especially on the gourd plantations in certain parts of Ruanda. In Bugoye, however, where the soil is very rich, fertilizer is not used. Here, it is said, there is danger that the growth of millet become too lush and fall down. The farmers try to avert this by binding the stalks into tiny bundles during the growing season.

312 241 One sees a great many irrigation systems north of Lake Mohasi. In Mulera, on the other hand, where there seems to be more rain, I did not see any. Frequently the water is brought in through narrow canals from dammed-up streams. For example, on the northern slope of Mount Ndisa near the Nyawarongo River I saw a water system two kilometers long [136] which descended gently to the plantations on the foothills and could be heard along its course. The main line had a number of outlets stuffed with sod, which could carry the necessary water to the pastures on the mountain slopes. The water is conducted through deep furrows separating the rectangular beds. It was only in Bgisha near Rutshuru that I saw a marshy lowland in which earth was thrown into mounds almost a meter high. These peculiar beds were sown to peas.

242 The first terraced fields which I had an opportunity to see were in the country north of Lake Mohasi, but they occur throughout the rest of northwestern Ruanda. In many cases they seem to be unintentional and were probably formed naturally when the slope was tilled. The terraces are two to three meters high.

In Ruanda there seems to be a certain crop rotation. In Itambi beans and peas are first planted on the cleared land and, after that, millet. In Mulera I was told that this rotation is also adhered to in fields that have been planted for some time. After the millet harvest, however, the ground is allowed to lie fallow. This order of rotation is not always maintained. One often sees millet planted along with beans. This occurs even in cases where there is no lack of space. I was told that beans can be harvested earlier without harming the millet.

Letting the fields lie fallow, it would seem, is also not a regular practice. In several cases I found that it was due to the

242 impossibility of planting the field at the proper time. For example, the Bahutu told me that near the farm of Lwakadygi several fields had to remain uncultivated because it was too late when the Batutsi moved their cattle into the forest.

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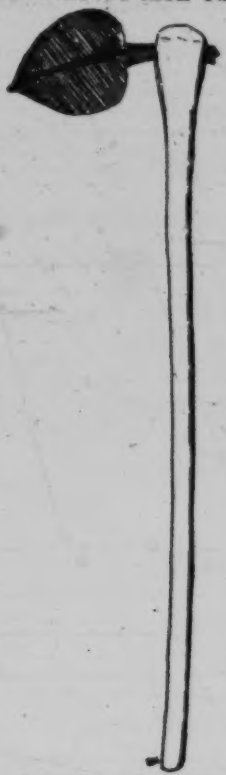

The soil is cultivated with a clumsy iron hoe (issuka). It has a long, heavy handle which is thicker at the top. The blade is fastened to the handle by means of a point at the back. [137] The point is driven into a hole burned into the handle. This method of hafting is used in the Bahinda states and throughout Buhaya. In Toro, Bunyoro, Buganda, and Nkole (at least in the north where I had a chance to observe this), the hoe is fastened somewhat differently. Here the handle consists of a forked branch cut from the trunk a little below the fork. The two parts of the fork are cut to an uneven length, the longer one being the handle and the shorter one, cut diagonally, bears the blade. The upper, protruding part of the blade is tied to the handle. This type of hoe is very awkward and a great strain to use, because the short handle forces the workers to bend over very low.

Fig. 25. Field Hoe from Julera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13108. Length of handle: 113 centimeters; length of blade: 31 centimeters; width 19.5 centimeters.)

The short hoe seems to be an older type which is dying out. My Wassukuma [Sukuma] porters told me that among their people the short-handled, bound hoe was commonly used in ancient

241 times, but that later it was replaced by a long-handled one
412 with a hole bored at one end. They also said that at present it differs from the Ruanda hoe only in the fact that it is ligher.

The very primitive wooden hoe, less frequently used in Ruanda, is somewhat similar to the older form. It, too, consists of an unevenly forked branch, but in this case the shorter end is pointed and used as the hoe. The few samples which I saw in the region had an iron tip on the pointed end. The people I questioned about it said that formerly this tip had not
[171] been used. Later I saw identical hoes among the Niloto-Hamitic Kakwa; these were without the iron tip. I was told that they were used exclusively for clearing.

In Ruanda the women as well as the men use the hoe. In this respect Ruanda is very different from the other regions of the northwest where hoe culture is practiced.

311 There are large aggregates of tilled fields only in the north and the west and along the northern shore of Lake Mohasi. Otherwise the fields are merly oases in large sections of pasture-

[412]

Fig. 26. Wooden Hoe with Iron Tip from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. L15061.)

land and bush.

311 The banana groves usually occupy the ridges of hills; at
245 least this is the case in Kissaka, Nduga, and Mulera. In Bugoye and in southern Bgisha where the settlements were very high, the groves are somewhat lower. In Bugoye where the lava is very much decomposed, there are large [138] banana plantations on the lava plains themselves. In Bgisha they are somewhat higher along the edges of these plains. Bananas bear almost all year round except in the driest season. The plants are hoed, but otherwise they require little care. The banana crop is used chiefly to make beer (nzoga).

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

231 Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 437 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

AGRICULTURE

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Among the better classes the
wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants 241
and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband [565]
and wife worked in the field. [462]

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the 243
common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to [252]
a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people.

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten 534
morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month [782]
a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this process.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 215-23.
[8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1945 and Everaerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

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means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

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Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must [251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food [574] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the 517 planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for [264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her [313] neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw 415 water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her 482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard [356] and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava, [252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house. [606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than [574] cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
593 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

[5]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954.

[6]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights.

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi.

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred.

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society.

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups.

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.*

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste.

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956.

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three.

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer.

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light.

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help.

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy.

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system.

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